

August 17, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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And how fortunate we are to live in such a time, when justice so mingles with necessity, and faith with opportunity.

Almost from the moment of birth, the Alliance for Progress was beset by doubt. But men of rooted faith in every country held firm to purpose. And if we have not reached the farthest limit of expectation, we have done much; more, indeed, than many believed.

This 4 years has been the greatest period of forward movement, progress, and fruitful change in the history of the hemisphere. And the pace is increasing.

Last year Latin America as a whole exceeded the Alliance for Progress target of 2½ percent per capita growth rate. Our exports tell us we will do the same this year. And in the Central American Common Market growth is almost 7 percent.

A large and swelling flood of resources contributes to this progress. In 4 years, the United States has contributed almost \$4½ billion in grants, loans, goods, and expert assistance. The nations of Latin America have channeled \$22 to \$24 billion into development. And more than \$1 billion has come from other countries and international agencies.

At the heart of Alliance are the twin urgencies of planning and reform. Ten nations have already submitted development programs, and others are on the way. Fourteen countries now have major tax reforms underway—and the rate of tax collection is steadily rising. Fourteen nations have now instituted land reform programs. Others are confronting the growing importance of population control. One government after another is determined to reconcile reform and economic growth with the struggle against destructive inflation. And I salute those, like the people of Brazil, who help lead the way.

In my own country we have constantly worked to improve the speed and usefulness of our own participation in the Alliance. And we have made progress.

In the last year and a half we have loaned over \$847 million—almost \$150 million more than the two full preceding years. The number of loans is increasing. The amount of investment guarantee is on the rise. Housing guarantees have gone up 20 times in only 2 years.

Thus in both United States and Latin America we are moving more and more swiftly to meet the obligations and reach the goals of the Alliance for Progress.

And behind the statistics lie the countless stories of human needs met, human suffering relieved, human hopes fulfilled.

Twenty-five million people—13 million of them children—are receiving food from Alliance programs.

More than 1½ million people have new homes.

A million children now have new classrooms, and 10 million textbooks have been produced.

Hundreds of thousands now can find relief from suffering in more than 850 hospitals, health centers, and health units now in service.

More than 100 million people are now protected from malaria.

And across the face of the hemisphere new roads are being built. Electric power lines are going up. And institutions for savings and credit and development are opening their doors.

These are important gains. But, perhaps more importantly, the banners of reform, of social justice, and of economic progress have been seized by governments and leaders and parties all over the hemisphere. Elections are fought and won on the principles of the Alliance. Where once the light of hope flickered in few places, it now burns in many nations. And in the oppressed countryside and desperate slums growing numbers of

people know that in distant capitals—under different slogans and with varying success—their leaders are working to brighten their days and insure their dignity.

For the fact is, even though forces of injustice, privilege and tyranny hold many fortresses, they are on the defensive now. And we can say, far more surely than we once could: Their final day is coming.

But whatever we have accomplished we know the road ahead is longer and more steep than the way behind. If many have been helped, many more are still untouched. If some are newly free, millions are still shackled by poverty and disease, ignorance and malnutrition. If we have made more progress than before, we have made far less than we must.

To this end, we must all increase the efforts we are now making: to build modern industry and the structures on which it rests; to attract a growing flow private investment and technology to Latin America; to speed up the process of social reform.

But it is not enough to continue what we are doing. From the experience, achievement and failures of the first 4 years we can now shape new directions.

Recently I received—as did the other American Presidents—a letter from CIAP suggesting changes and new departures. The leadership of this organization is itself one of our healthiest developments. And I pledge my Government to review this letter with care and sympathy.

But from this letter—and from our own experience—we can already see the shape of future emphasis.

First, we must step up our efforts to prevent disastrous changes in the prices of those basic commodities which are the lifeblood of so many economies. We will continue—we did this week in London—to strengthen the operation of the coffee agreement and search for ways to stabilize the price of cocoa.

We will also try to maintain a regularly expanding market for Latin American sugar. And consistent with the CIAP recommendations—I will propose today that Congress eliminate the special import fee on sugar, so the full price will go to the Latin American producers.

Second, we must try to draw the economies of Latin America closer together. The experience of Central America reaffirms that of Europe. Widened markets—the breakdown of tariff barriers—leads to increased trade, more efficient production, and greater prosperity.

The United States will, as CIAP suggests, contribute from its Alliance resources to the creation of a new fund for preparing multinational projects. By building areawide road systems, developing river basins which cross boundaries, and improving communications we can help dissolve barriers which have divided the nations.

In addition I hope the American nations will consider the establishment of a program—patterned after the European Coal and Steel Community—for the production and trades on a continental basis, of fertilizer, pesticides, and other products needed to increase agricultural production. My country is willing to help in such a venture.

Thus, in ways he never imagined, we can move closer to the dream of Bolivar.

Third, we must emphasize the needs of rural Latin America. Here is the scene of the most abject poverty and despair. Here half the people of Latin America live. And it is here, in the countryside, that the foundation of a modern economy will be built. Through diversification of crops we can decrease dependence on a few export products. Through increasing production, the countries of Latin America can feed their own people. Through increasing farm income, we can provide growing markets for industry.

Fourth, we must, as CIAP also suggests, direct more of our effort toward those things which directly touch the lives of individual human beings—homes and education, health and food. It is not enough simply to say that a growing economy will ultimately meet those needs. Misery and pain and despair exist in the present; and we must fight them in the present as best we can. This is not only the command of compassion. It is the counsel of wisdom. For factories and banks and dollars do not build a nation. People build a nation. On those people—their health and knowledge and faith; their participation and their sacrifice—rests the future of all of us and all our nations.

This is the common thread which runs through the Great Society in my country and the Alliance for Progress in all our countries.

These are a few—and only a few—of the many tasks which lie before us as we labor to complete the second revolution of the Americas.

The task of development is a practical process. It demands skilled leadership, careful judgment, and imagination firmly tempered by possibility. But it demands something more. For our progress is not its own end. It is an instrument to enlarge the dignity of man. And so we must build on faith and on belief and on those values which are the resistant and enduring mark of our civilization.

This means that each man should have the chance to share in the affairs of his nation—to participate in that liberating process of self-rule we know as democracy. It is fundamental to our Alliance that all our nations should be free, and all our people part of that freedom. We have not yet achieved that for all our countries, indeed for all the people of my own country. But that is our goal for this entire continent. And, however we build, the Alliance will not be success until that is accomplished.

It is to protect that right of self-determination that the OAS now works in the Dominican Republic. I know all of you share the wish that the future government, chosen by the Dominican people, will be devoted to the principles of liberal democracy and social justice; and that you share as well the intention of my country to help rebuild that memory and strife-scarred land.

This also means that each man's nation—great or small—must walk as an equal with all others—free to shape its society, select its institutions and find its own way to the future so long as it respects the rights of its fellows. And from that enriching diversity of custom and tradition—practice and the conduct of affairs—we will all draw strength and, perhaps even wisdom.

This also means that each man must have a chance to share in present benefit and future progress. God did not create any man to live in unseen chains, laboring through a life of pain to heap the table of a favored few. No farmer should be enslaved to land he can not own. No worker should be stripped of reward for toil. No family should be compelled to sacrifice while others escape the obligations of their society. "Indeed," said Thomas Jefferson, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." We must surely tremble for our continent as long as any live and flourish protected by the walls of injustice.

If we follow these commands in all our lands then progress will fulfill our dreams. But if we sacrifice them to weakness, or interest, or to false promise, then the hand that builds will become the hand of desolation.

I am, as best I can, trying to follow them in my own country. This year new laws will help the old to find health, families to supplement the cost of homes, Negroes to share in democracy, the poor to find an exit from poverty, and children to seek learning.

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For my Nation, like yours, is still struggling to find justice for all its people. And because we are fortunate in abundance we must try to help others who seek it for their own people.

And there is also something more. The process of development is still an unknown process. Although we mask our uncertainty with charts and tables, calculations and intricate theories, we are still uncertain. But one thing we do know. Development is not just a matter of resources or trade, production or crops. Rather, in some mysterious way, a people—because they have great leaders and because they have great hopes and because they themselves are great—an entire people begin to stir, and sacrifice and work. And a nation begins to move.

And today throughout this continent this is beginning to happen.

It is that—not the numbers or reports—which tell us these have been fruitful years—and that with luck, and with skill, and with intransigent resolve we will clear away the thousand barriers that lie ahead—if enough hands grasp them, and all are allowed to make the journey.

To all that was pledged that momentous August day—and everything promised since—I here, on this anniversary, again pledge my administration and my personal life in office.

As for the future, leave that to this new world. It will be ours, as it was promised so many years ago.

LOS ANGELES RIOT

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to say a word about the riot in Los Angeles. The Governor of California has announced that the riots are over and that there is, as we know, an uneasy peace being enforced by 15,000 National Guardsmen and more than 1,000 police officers. Six days of rioting and looting have taken a terrible toll—33 persons dead, 812 injured, 2,870 arrested, and an estimated \$175 million in property damage.

The extent of the damage caused by these Los Angeles riots will never really be known. I speak today because perhaps the greatest injury suffered in the riots was the serious blow to the remarkable record of the civil rights movement—a record of order and nonviolence in the face of substantial, unbearable provocation—which has brought so much dignity, so much patriotism, and so much support to the movement.

Another reason that I speak today is that we had a little flurry in Philadelphia last night. We have already had one in Springfield, Mass. We had such reactions last year in Newark, N.J.; Rochester, N.Y.; and New York City.

The entire face of society—and especially of those of us who have been so ardent in this movement—must be turned against any such trend.

Bloodshed and anarchy, arson and murder—whatever their deep-seated social or psychological causes—cannot be tolerated in a society founded upon the rule of law.

As one who has spent his entire public career working in the cause of equal opportunity and civil rights, I shall be among the first to sit down calmly and assess the causes and the added cures for this madness now that the storm is over. However, I cannot condone bargains or bribery as a means of assuring

order. Nor can I subscribe to the allegedly simple answers which we are beginning to hear—"Let the courts and the police get tough." "Let the civil rights leaders control their people." "Let there be a halt to civil rights demonstrations." Such proposals refer even to those constitutionally guaranteed nonviolent demonstrations which have touched the conscience of the Nation.

We should not permit these arsonists, murderers, and snipers to destroy the benefits derived from these demonstrations.

The great movement for equal opportunity must continue, notwithstanding the actions of the hoodlums of Los Angeles. It is the manifest destiny of this Nation to expand freedom for all. However, it would be foolish for us to ignore the riots.

Though progress has been all too painfully slow in education, housing, jobs, and even in voting, we have accomplished more in the last decade than in the preceding century.

Now, in the very week when tens of thousands of disenfranchised Negroes are streaming to registration offices in the South, within weeks of the establishment of a Federal Fair Employment Commission, and within a month of the opening of a substantial number of newly desegregated schools in the South, this new, worse than ever, violence erupts.

The ones who are hurt the most by the action of these hoodlums are not those in the white power structure, of Los Angeles, nor the bigots and the racist. The American people are the ones who suffer. It is not only the Negro home owner in Watts, the shop keepers, or the parents of children who have been shot by snipers, who suffer, but also—without any relationship to actual participation—those Americans across the country who are working loyally and devotedly for freedom now.

We cannot let this happen. We have worked for the cause too long to allow the progress won at such cost, by so many, to be jeopardized and damaged.

Mr. President, the violence which has occurred in Los Angeles is a disease. It must be treated as a disease which can destroy the life and the vitality of the civil rights cause and which, therefore, must be cured, operated upon, and suppressed before it spreads.

Mr. President, we must also look at the causes of the riots. We must examine the question of whether the repeal of California's fair housing law contributed to the mounting discontent. We must explore the reasons for the absence of a genuine anti-poverty program in Los Angeles. We must decide what kind of program at the Federal level can be initiated immediately to alleviate the pressures. I intend to cooperate fully in this task on the Federal level.

Today I call upon the victims of these riots—all those who are a part of the American civil rights movement—to speak out strongly and to close the ranks quickly against this disaster so that, with peace restored, we can return to the great, arduous task of building a society with equal rights and equal opportunity for all.

Mr. President, with others in this body and in the United States, I turn my face against violence, and join in supporting its suppression. At one and the same time, we do not condone bargaining or appeasing. We must look to the things that we can do to avoid a repetition of such an occurrence.

It is extremely important that we not be disheartened by what has occurred, but that, on the contrary, we should close ranks and continue our progress. It is important for the Federal establishment to realize its responsibility not only to assist, but also to urge the authorities in California to take the required actions to reduce the mounting discontent which has produced this terrible disaster in the United States, a disaster which is harmful not only to the people of the United States, but also to our image in the eyes of the other nations of the world.

DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, AND HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1966—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 7765) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of August 12, 1965, pp. 19474-19475, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, the bill as approved by the committee of conference provides total appropriations of \$8,011,331,500, a decrease of \$11,770,000 from the Senate allowance, an increase of \$47,297,000 over the House allowance, but a decrease of \$282,482,500 from the budget estimates for 1966. The total amount approved exceeds the appropriations for 1965 by \$308,936,500.

For the Department of Labor, the total appropriation is \$547,607,500 or \$10 million less than approved by the Senate, and \$40,536,500 less than the budget estimates for 1966.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, what did the conference committee do with relation to the administrative costs on research grants to private institutions?

Mr. HILL. The Senator and I had a meeting with the Subcommittee on Defense yesterday afternoon. This subject came up. The House provision provided: